2:Oberg E-5 (1946-1947)1949 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

The Terena and the Caduveo Southern

By KALERVO OBERG

INTRODUCTION

This brief monograph has grown out of an attempt to outline the cultural changes resulting from the contact and interaction of two culturally different Indian tribes and their eventual adjustment to the impact of European civilization. It must be stated at the outset that no continuous record of change can be given. We see the historical process rather in discontinuous flashes as it is revealed to us by writers who observed the life of these two tribes in the past. Even with the documentary evidence on hand the story of any given period of time is incomplete, for the observers did not record all those details of culture which we now consider so essential. Yet, with all these shortcomings, we do see the general outlines of development, the major turning points in the sequence of changes initiated by the outstanding forces of contact and interaction. It must be added, furthermore, that this monograph is considered more in the nature of a preliminary outline of a project which, it is hoped, will be completed by the Brazilian students who have participated in the work so far.

Discussion of the historical literature referring to the Terena and Caduveo is not considered necessary here, for this has been ably done by Alfred Métraux in Volume 1 of the Smithsonian Institution's Handbook of South American Indians. In tracing the early history of these two tribes recourse has been made to the ideas and documented evidence set forth in the Handbook. Quotations from early writers, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, have been used where they refer directly to cultural characteristics or changes re-

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Caduveo of Southern Mato Grosso, Brazil

By Kalervo Oberg

INTRODUCTION

sulting from contact. These quotations have been translated into English, the writer being responsible for the translations. Admittedly, the early phases, covering a period of nearly four centuries, are vague. In fact, direct field methods can reach back with certainty for only the life span of a mature informant.

During some period in pre-Columbian times, the Terena, as a subtribe of the Arawak-speaking Guaná, moved southward into the northern Chaco from the Amazon Basin. From the earliest written records and from what we know of the Arawak-speaking peoples in the Amazon Basin, the Guaná were a relatively peaceful and predominantly agricultural people. In the Chaco the Guaná came into contact with the Guaicurú-speaking Mbayá of which the Caduveo formed a part. The Mbayá were predominantly hunters and extremely warlike. In time, the interaction between the Guaná and Mbayá led to a symbiotic relationship based on intermarriage between Mbayá chiefs and Guaná women of chiefly rank, exchange of goods, and the rendering of services by the Guaná for military protection provided by the Mbayá. In this system of accommodation the Mbayá maintained a position of ascendancy owing to their military superiority. This seems to have been the existing situation when the Spaniards made contact with the Guaná and Mbayá around the middle of the sixteenth century.

Although we do not know the exact location of the Guaná tribes at this date, we know from the account of Sanchez Labrador that in 1767 they were settled along the Paraguay River from lati-

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rador, 1910–17, vol. 1, pp. 244–245). Rodrigues Prado describes the Mbayá as follows: "They are tall so that among them there are many men six and one-half feet in stature. They are well-built, well-muscled and with an almost indescribable capacity to endure hunger, thirst, and sustained effort" (Prado, 1908, p. 23).

Measurements taken among the Terena show the following summary results. Of 28 adult males measured, the average height was found to be 161.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 85.4, and the average nasal index 76.1. Of 17 adult females, the average height was found to be 149.7 cm., average cephalic index 81.9, average facial index 83.9, and the average nasal index 77.3.[1]

The field work upon which this study is based was carried out during the months of December, January, and February of 1946–47. I gratefully acknowledge the assistance of Fernando Altenfelder Silva, Mauricio Segal, and Juarez Lopes, the three students of the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica of São Paulo, who accompanied me to Mato Grosso and participated in the gathering of field data. I want to thank also Dr. Cyro Berlinck, the director, and Dr. A. R. Müller, the assistant director, of the Escola for making it possible for the three students to carry on field work. I want to thank, too, the director and field personnel of the Serviço de Proteção aos Indios, whose assistance in providing transportation and lodging helped to make the field trip a success.

I am particularly grateful to Dr. Donald Pierson, the director of the Brazilian Branch of the Institute of Social Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, for his kind cooperation in planning the field work and assisting in obtaining the equipment necessary for carrying out research in the field. Finally, I wish to thank Adelheid Hamburger for her industry and patience in organising and typing the field notes and the draft of this monograph.

[1] Prepared in cooperation with Dr. Emilio Willems, professor of anthropology, University of São Paulo.

[P. 5-B]

/15 cont./ With reference
123 to the techniques used, from "participant observation" to the
125 use of questionnaires, we decided to mention them whenever necessary, thus endeavoring to make clear to the reader the origin and method of collecting the data analyzed.

128 As for its structure, the essay is divided into eight
[127] chapters: the first four were written on the basis of a bibliographic investigation, while the last four represent an attempt to describe the present situation of the Terêna and to interpret the process of socio-cultural change on the basis of the formulation of the problem of their assimilation with the regional neo-Brazilian population. Obviously they constitute the most important part of the work, as an introduction to which the first four chapters were written, namely: I) "The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup"--which aims to identify the population studied; II) "The Nature of Intertribal Interaction"--in which we attempt to analyze the type of relations between the great Guaná and Mbayá-Guaikurú groups; III) "Profile of the Traditional Culture"--which is a brief account of the pattern of the ancient Terêna-Guaná culture; IV) "History of Interethnic Relations"--a study of the waves of settlement in southern Mato Grosso on the part of our society and the consequences of that pioneering process
[127] in the modification of the regional native situation; V) "Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups"--a record of the most significant episodes in the history of each local group (with the aid of the oldest informants in the community) and of whatever could be subjected to quantification, these methods being combined with bibliographic sources (chiefly SPI reports); VI) "Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities"--a comparative examination of the data presented in the previous chapter, in an attempt to ascertain the emerging variables, in order to indicate the pattern of modern tribal behavior; VII) "Acculturation and Mobility"--as two facets of the assimilation process they provide the title for the most theoretical chapter in this work, in so far as it deals with a formulation of the conceptual system (used in the interpretation of a process)

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/128 while at the same time giving an idea of the type of culture change brought about by acculturation, in the face of the socio-cultural changes resulting from social mobility; finally,
VIII) "The Mechanisms of Assimilation"--where are examined, on the basis of "case histories," the factors that facilitate /16/ assimilation and those that hinder or impede it, concluding with a brief recapitulation of the basic theses of the work.

/14 We cannot close this introductory note without mentioning that this research was carried out through the stimulation of Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, when we were working under his direction in the Secção de Estudos (Museu do Índio) of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Our reading of his yet unpublished work, "A assimilação dos índios no Brasil /The Assimilation of the Indian in Brazil/," was basic to the formulation of our central research problems, while at the same time our association was a factor that contributed much to the success of our research, both in his courses on ethnology, in which we had the opportunity to participate as his assistant, and in the daily observation of his indigenist activities during the years 1954 to 1956. With his acceptance of our invitation to write a preface to the present work, Prof. Darcy Ribeiro is once more lending his stimulus and support to our work, incurring our sincere gratitude.

Aside from Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, Prof. Oracy Nogueira and Dr. Joaquim Mattoso Câmara Jr. read the manuscript. The first five chapters, ready since 1957, were read by Dr. Florestan Fernandes, our former professor of sociology, who introduced us to the systematic study of the social sciences when we were studying at the Faculty of Philosophy, Sciences, and Letters of the University of São Paulo. We thank them all for their suggestions, of which we made use of only those that seemed pertinent, this being the reason why we are solely responsible for the ideas expressed here. To our colleagues in the Divisão, Maria Heloisa Fenelon Costa and Dalton Moreira de Araújo, we wish to give thanks for the collaboration they were always ready to offer, especially to the latter, who accompanied us on our last trip into the field and helped us

/25 cont./
10/ parcialidades, although these, to differentiate among them-
175 selves, use other names." (10) He goes on to explain that the

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10. 1910, II:255. An elucidation: instead of quoting the texts of the chroniclers in the language in which they were written, we choose to transcribe them translated /into Portuguese/, while trying to keep the original style; we believe that this will make the reading of these pages less burdensome.

name Guaná is a pronoun of the third person of the "Chaná" language meaning that one and that it must have become the proper name of a nation through one of those misunderstandings so common to the etymology of tribal names. (11) Now Felix

11. Cf. Labrador, II:267.

Azara writes that "Guaná" means in his language man or male; which seems to be--he says--hardly applicable to a nation, yet it is under this name that they are known in Paraguay. (12)

12. 1809, II:86.

Finally, D. Juan Francisco Aguirre comes up with a third version, while at the same time corroborating, with Labrador and Azara, the statement that Guaná was not the name by which those Indians called themselves. Thus he says: "The Guanás, in their language Chanés, that is, many people, lived in the Chaco...." (13)

13. 1898:471.

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175 This statement by the Bavarian, Schmidel, is important
148 not only because it is one of the rare 16th-century observations on the Guaná; its full import is conveyed by its revelation about the nonenslaving character of Guaikurú domination, as it projects on Guaikurú-Guaná intertribal relations the type of feudal relations that prevailed in his own country at the time. Nevertheless, the term "slave" is commonly found in the accounts of chroniclers when they refer to Guaná subjection.(29)

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29. The term appears to be rather unfortunate, especially when extended to cover the Guaná tribes as a whole. From what is known regarding the modern Kayapó, it may be said that it is very dangerous to deal with these groups as a whole, without making the necessary differentiation among subtribes, or even among local groups, when it is desired to make a specific study of one subgroup as in our own case. The differences not only in interethnic but also in intertribal contact, with the divergent experiences that follow, are perhaps the element that will best explain the causes for the survival of some groups (such as the Terêna and up to recently the Kinikináu) and the extinction of others (such as the "Niguecactemic," Exoaladi, and Layâna). Unfortunately, the sources do not permit us to follow the experiences of each group separately, experiences which often differ in nature, and for this reason,

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would be revealing in terms of the development or disappearance of each one of them. Owing to this scarcity of data we are led to make this impressionistic sketch of the Guaná as a whole. This note will serve, however, as a warning to the reader.

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The inadequate nature of the term becomes evident from what Felix Azara himself writes: "At the time of the Spaniards' arrival, the Guaná went to join the Mbayá in bands, as they do now, in order to obey them, serve them, and work their lands, without any pay. This is the reason why the Mbayá always call them their slaves. It is true that this slavery is quite benign, for the Guaná submit voluntarily and give it up whenever they please. Furthermore, their lords give them very few orders, never use a commanding or compelling tone, and share everything with the Guaná, even the pleasures of the flesh...."(30)

30. 1809, II:96-97.--The inapplicability of the term seems obvious, when it is known that the very concept of slave implies the transformation of the human being into a thing, into the master's absolute property, over which he even has the right, inclusive, of life and death. This--as we can see--was not the case among the Guaikurú, or even between both and the other Chaco groups, who were truly subjected, by force of arms, to those groups.--For a discussion of the concept, see

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and adherence to norms."
E. T. Hiller, 1947:151.
/Cited in English./

extent may be generalized to the Guaná as a whole, characterizing an entire period in which relations between representative parts of both groups assumed systematic and continuous forms, which resulted in a process of intertribal acculturation, which must be taken into account if we are to understand Terêna (Guaná) traditional culture.

/39/ III. Profile of the Traditional Culture

Our purpose in this chapter is to give a brief outline of the traditional Terêna-Guaná culture, in order to convey a better understanding of the relations which took place between those Indians and the Euro-American society in the process of settling in southern Mato Grosso. The difficulties that the historical reconstruction presents have already been mentioned in the preceding chapters. A few words should still be added regarding the criterion adopted in the selection of the cultural complexes analyzed.

Realizing it would be impossible to provide a picture, no matter how simple, of the total culture of those tribal groups, we decided to select the aspects of the traditional culture that were of greatest interest to the chroniclers and are thus better documented in the available bibliography.(55) Those /aspects/ that

55. Our field experiences will serve, in this chapter, merely as auxiliary data, for the "tribal memory," although actively stimulated by us, proved very poor of little or

/39 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

121 almost no help in reconstruct-
173 ing the traditional culture.

/2/ seemed of the greatest explicative importance were, then, analyzed by us with the purpose of obtaining a more comprehensive view of Terêna-Guaná culture, without exceeding, naturally, the limits which we are trying to give to this work. [128] We shall thus study some aspects of the tribal infra-structure, dwelling on the social organization and the process of stratification, since production and bartering relations are referred to, although briefly, in chapters II and IV; on the other hand, in respect to the phenomena of superstructure, we shall merely try to characterize the ceremonial life, seeing in it--as Radcliffe-Brown shows us (56)--the true expression of the group's

56. Cf. 1952, chap. "Religion and Society."

magico-religious behavior.

565 /40/ The oldest depositions we have on the Guaná al-
631 ready suggest a type of stratification similar to that of the
[17] Mbayá-Guaikurú. From the deposition of Sanches Labrador, we see that the Guaná "are divided into captaincies. The principal ones are those of the caciques, who are like seigniors of the others. The smaller captaincies fall again to the caciques' relatives, and thus, both /the caciques/ and the lesser captains endeavor to continue the mystical nobility of their blood, marrying those of equal rank, so as not to degrade themselves with the common people." (57) (The italics are ours--RCO.)

57. 1910, I: 92.

567 And Castelnau adds: "Many own slaves, whom otherwise they
101 generally treat with kindness; they are prisoners of war taken

144 cont. / [Traditional Culture]

177 during the period when the "second form of symbiosis" (69) was
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69. Baldus points out two forms or two typical moments in the Guaykurú-Guaná symbiosis: the first refers to the Chaco period, before contact with westerners, when the Guaná and the Kaskihá (Maskoi), together and often mistaken by the whites for a single people, were tributaries of the Guaykuru; the second refers to the moment when farming was introduced among the Guaykuru, when relations between them were much more in the nature of a political and economic alliance--this from the second half of the 18th century. (Cf. 1945:24-27.)

established, the relatives of the Guaná caciques, influenced by their allies, came to stigmatize agricultural work, taking their women (and perhaps certain masculine categories) from work on the land. (70)

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70. The chroniclers say nothing about this. And our hypothesis, although it can only be checked against the remaining Terêna, may be regarded, in all probability, as one of the most significant variations of the Guaná associative system. The special emphasis on

/48 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

616 statement by Rattray-Hay, with the exception of the adjectives
[173] "good" and "bad" attributed to the moieties. Actually, good
[114] and bad seem to be much more a "pious" rationalization con-
[829] cerning the moieties rather than an objective interpretation.
We prefer, in this case, Oberg's "translation," (73) i.e.,
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73. 1948:283; 1949:27.

Xumonó as "fierce" (fierce people) and Sukirikionó as "gentle" (gentle people), in accordance with the divergent behavior shown by each moiety in the old ceremonies. In the Oheokoti ceremony, the Xumonó had to tease and provoke, while the Sukirikionó had to remain passive and phlegmatic, without showing any reaction.

616 Concerning the survival of these moieties as techniques
796 for the regulation of the ceremonial life, it is well to emphasize
[128] that the bibliography is limited to Rattray-Hay, and only to
[178] this passage we are examining. Our investigations among the Terêna of Cachoeirinha permit us to pinpoint 1905 as the last year in which the moieties appear to have been fully operative in the division of the community for the festivities which were
616 carried out at the time. These festivals combined magico-
796 religious activities and secular games, in the following way:
431 after the Oheokoti religious ceremony--which we shall describe below--there appeared a new personage, Yunakalú, who was always a Xumonó Indian, in full attire and whose duty it was to go from house to house, in the aldea, to ask for donations (mostly food), accompanied by a large crowd who helped him carry the objects received. The Yunakalú used a stick with which he pointed to the objects desired, which could not be denied him by the owners. (74) Then, the food was carried

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74. This may be the origin of the term so commonly used in Bananal, Maxati-txané.

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/50 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

"Hawaiian," after Murdock, (79) and to understand how unlikely

79. Cf. 1951:64. Given the characteristics of this work, we did not deem it necessary to publish and analyze the Terêna kinship tables. The interested reader will find them in Altenfelder, 1949:327-334 and in Oberg, 1949:31.

it was for the traditional social structure to survive, once the group was atomized in such a way as to impede or make overly difficult marriage within the local group. This led, naturally, to an exogamy of the local group, enforced as long as regular contact among the old aldeas was possible. With the Paraguayan war--as we shall see in the next chapter--, when these aldeas were destroyed and their inhabitants scattered among the fazendas that were beginning to arise in large numbers, the old structure no longer had the conditions for its survival. Also to be emphasized with respect to marriage is its monogamous character, combined with polygyny, including its sororal form. Finally, we can say that the ancient Guaná appear to have been matrilocal, despite the fact that the Terêna incline toward bilocality and neolocality. We believe that these indications are sufficient to give an idea of the Guaná-Terêna social structure, before we close this chapter with a brief account of the traditional superstructure.

For giving us an outline of Guaná religion, the chroniclers /51/ provide us with extremely uncertain data. Information from the middle of the last century indicate that the Guaná "believed in the existence of a great spirit charged with moving the sun," (80) and showed a certain respect for him. (81) But

80. Castelnau, 1949:304.
81. Idem: 248.

/55 cont./

773 616 not in a position to formulate, even though in the conversations we had with some Terêna informants in this respect, we were left with the impression that the Sukirikionó were regarded as [177] slightly superior to the Xumonó. This, however, seems to be a projection of the roles played by both moieties in the festivities related to the Oheokoti, and re-evaluated by the "cathechized" Terêna in the light of Christian morality, in terms of a "good" and a "bad" moiety.

773 114 Still other myths, and several versions, could be analyzed in this work, thanks to the relatively good and recent bibliography available and to the material we gathered in the field. 128 However, we believe that we would be departing from the purposes of this chapter, which is to provide an outline or a simple characterization of the traditional culture, by which we mean the one that prevailed in Chaco times. We shall be content if we succeeded in this chapter in providing the reader with an accurate though summary idea of the culture of the ancient Terêna-Guaná, which will make it possible for him to understand the changes undergone by a tribal population in contact with an expanding and technically superior society.
/Two plates appear here./ /Page 56 is blank./

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175 are very instructive, as are those between Aquidauana and the
177 Terêna communities of Limão Verde and Aldeinha. In the
[36] following chapters we shall see in more detail the influence of
[128] these cities[2] on the way of life of the members of those indigenous communities. For now, let us go on to analyze--on the basis of the chroniclers--the nature of the contacts that were established between these waves of penetration from our society and the regional Terêna population.

175 Strictly speaking, the first references we have on the
177 Terêna are provided by Sanches Labrador, who tells us that they
797 had already, at that time (mid-18th century), received in their aldeas a Jesuit padre. (109) Up to this time, they were the most isolated of the Guaná groups.

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109. "In the Chanás settlement I found two men who were with their wives and children, all Terênas and brothers of the Chanás. I noted the language of their nation. I asked them if they knew of any Christians close to their lands, or if they had come to them? They answered yes ... and that in times past they had been close to their land: and pointing to the Guaranís who were present, they added: they were dressed like these, and with necklaces (rosaries) like those around the neck. This must have occurred when the Venerable Padre Castanhares with the Zamuco Indians came close to the settlement of the Terênas, or, as they call themselves, Telenoé." (1910, II:274-75.)

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2 [i.e. the neo-Brazilian cities of Miranda and Aquidauana -- Ansbert]

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master unless the new one assumes responsibility for the debt or indemnifies him at once. And, if he dares to run away, he almost invariably runs the risk of suffering vexations, blows, and not infrequently death, the police being in every case a participant in such outrages." (Ibid.)

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Incidentally, we heard from the Terêna a large number of stories which corroborate, with a wealth of details, these observations relating to 1904. In Cachoeirinha, for example, we met old Xuri, a doctor-sorcerer staying temporarily in the community, who had been born in the above-mentioned Cutape fazenda, and who had been a witness to the vicissitudes his people had undergone as they were exploited on the regional labor market.

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"A curious thing," the report goes on.--"In the povoados /settlements/ and in the towns the police are always in the hands of the fazendeiros themselves, who are the authorities, either as justices of the peace, or as deputies or sub-deputies /delegados or sub-delegados/. The soldiers are enlisted by them and from then on regarded as their own camaradas. It is the fazendeiros who furnish them with provisions and give them their pay and their marching rations. The soldiers work for them as vaqueiros and farmers, and do any task that the fazendeiro, as a police official, may order them to do.--There can be no supervision against these abuses, because there is true solidarity among the rich men who take turns in this usufruct." (131)

131. Idem:83-84.

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178 554 There is no question that today, as we visit Terêna communities, we note not only a marked secularization of their institutions, but also certain modifications in the manner in which roles are attributed and professions chosen among its [184] members. Nevertheless, such modifications did not occur to the same degree in all the local groups, although the settlement cycles and the historical episodes referred to above have 121 been common to the Terêna population as a whole. We shall 128 deal with this in the chapters that follow, where we shall endeavor to give an idea of the history of each local group in particular and to analyze the socio-cultural variations which emerge from a comparison between their communities. The historiography of interethnic relations, briefly attempted in this chapter, will serve, in the last analysis, as a backdrop before which it will become easier to understand the present-day situation in which the Terêna Indians are found.

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V. Present-day Configuration of Terêna Local Groups

175 From the contents of the first chapter, we have seen that 36 immediately after the Terêna crossed over to the eastern banks [167] of the Paraguay River, they clustered in the region that has as [162] a center today the small city of Miranda. Already at the time [103] of the Brazilian-Paraguayan conflict, "the Terênas, numbering perhaps more than three thousand, were settled in Naxedaxe, six leagues from the town (Miranda), in Ipegue, seven and a [162] half, and in Aldeia Grande, three." (133) After or even during

133. Taunay, 1948:267.

the conflict--as we showed in the previous chapter--, when the local groups were broken up, the Terêna scattered through a large area, leading a chronicler at the end of the century to believe that there were some twelve to fourteen thousand Terêna Indians and a large number of aldeas. (134)

134. J. Bach, 1916:90.

/73 cont./

361 their lands and drawing them into the colônias of the fazendas.
178 The history of interethnic relations records that a large number
648 of aldeas disappeared in the past, leading their members to
[166] attach themselves to fazendas or to remain as a mobile unit,
moving from fazendas to settlements and cities, and vice versa,
128 immersed in a continuous process of detribalization. In this
chapter and in the following one we shall deal only with the
situation of the Terêna aldea population; the one that now lives
in relatively independent and stable communities, whether or
not they are under the supervision of the Serviço de Proteção
aos Índios.

361 By municípios, we can note the following: Município of
[103] Miranda: Cachoeirinha, Passarinho, Moreira, União, and
Lalima; Aquidauana Município: Bananal, Ipegue, Limão Verde,
and Aldeinha; Nioac Município: Brejão; Sidrolândia Município:
[162] Buriti; Dourados Município: Francisco Horta. Beside these 12
communities, which will be the subject of ecological char-
acterization in the present chapter, we might point out two
other communities which are totally or partially made up of
[103] Terêna Indians. One of them, São João, in the state of Mato
Grosso, and another, Araribá (Curt Nimuendajú Native Post) in
621 São Paulo. The former, São João, within the Kadiwéu reser-
162 vation was formed by introducing Terêna families into a distant
648 part of the fazenda /retiro/ on the bank of the Aquidavão River
and close to the Bodoquena mountain range, in order to insure
ownership of those lands through settlement. The latter,
Araribá aldea, occupied by Guarani Indians, in 1932 got a few
Terêna families (about 50 individuals) whose mission was to
prod the Guarani, by their example, to the agricultural work
162 of the reservation. Nevertheless, it cannot be stated that these
are the only Terêna clusters, since a relatively high percentage
of families are still scattered among the fazendas, probably
living in their colônias, mixed in with neo-Brazilian colonos.
[177] Such families, in spite of being quite disorganized--in terms
[619] of the /74/ traditonal patterns--, still continue to regard
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162 themselves as members of an indigenous group as long as they
619 can identify their relatives who live in aldeas, and visit them
574 at the time of the "national holidays" of the tribe. But the
128 situation of these families, along with that of those who live in the cities, will be examined in Chapter VII, when we shall study Terêna mobility as a factor of economic integration and as a function of the assimilation process.

We shall now endeavor to give an idea of each of the 12 aldeas visited, focusing on an ecological point-of-view, while--in the next chapter--we shall analyze their socio-cultural structures.

Cachoeirinha

361 Cachoeirinha is an aldea situated three and a half leagues from the city of Miranda and eight kilometers from the neo-Brazilian settlement of Duque Estrada, a small station of the
162 Noroeste do Brasil railroad. The regional census carried out by the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios in 1954, gave that aldea 834 inhabitants. (137) And if we compare the successive

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137. In a previous work we examined Cachoeirinha in greater detail, making use of demographic data gathered by us in 1957 in the field. We abstain from using them here so as not to impair the comparative analysis with the other Terêna communities, since for the latter we merely have census data up to 1954. (Cf. R. C. Oliveira, 1958 (b).

Cachoeirinha

/77 cont./

name and with which a few Capão families--whose ranchos border on the settlement--maintain trade relations.

especially Miranda, where they buy fat ("grease"), macaroni, some meat, salt, etc., as well as clothes, occasional household equipment, and brandy, which is forbidden on the reservations but is nevertheless found there. Unfortunately, we have no data that would permit us to make an exact appraisal of the amount of the production of the aldea and its distribution through nuclear families. True, we could give estimates, but they would be of no comparative value since we could not carry out the same procedure in relation to the other aldeas. It is sufficient for us to know that the production of most of the families (i.e., the production resulting from labor undertaken on their own lands) falls far short of their consumption. And we can illustrate this with the fact that a considerable number of families buy outside the aldea supplies such as manioc flour, which, in fact, is the principal product of the community.

Passarinho, Moreira, and União

Passarinho and Moreira aldeas occupy two contiguous areas, situated in places near Miranda and have a total population of 239 persons. Like Cachoeirinha, these aldeas for some time have had an influx of families from other aldeas and fazendas, while they themselves have supplied Cachoeirinha with some individuals. In 1927, the population of Passarinho was estimated at 110 persons and that of /78/ Moreira at 98. At that time, Passarinho--the closer one--was two kilometers from Miranda; now, it can be said that both are no more than suburbs of the city, so bound to it are the lives of their members

[Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

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361 reservoirs /açudes/; all the water is obtained from wells,
312 of which there are not more than three for both villages;
[162] and if we compare the census figures for each, we see that
the smallest population (10 families in União) occupies the
128 best aldea. In the following chapter, we shall analyze
184 the causes that led this local group to progress more than
its neighbors, who are more numerous and who have lived
[648] much longer in the area. Nevertheless, the /80/ three
aldeas--more so than Cachoeirinha--maintain very intensive relations with Miranda. The greater spatial proximity contributes to this, but also, and principally, socio-economic factors that, although they may be explained in part by that proximity, result far more from causes of a sociological nature, which we shall analyze later on.

Lalima

621 Among all of the Terêna local groups, Lalima appears
162 to be a community sui generis. Strictly speaking, it should not be classified here as an aldea making up part of the Terêna context. If we take its ethnic composition, we see that Lalima is made up of remnants of quite diverse origins, such as Guaikurú, Kinikináu, Terêna, Layâna, and Kadiwéu (one couple), aside from large numbers of mestizos and some neo-Brazilians, married into the com-
173 munity. The origin of this aldea is not very clear. Its
166 oldest inhabitants say that it was through a notice from
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121 economic life of which they have become incorporated as reserve labor or as specialized producers of certain articles of trade." (Ibidem:13.)

62/ assimilated by it. In the particular case of the Terêna com-
648 munities characterized above, it is seen that their components
177 continue to be so closely connected with them that nothing indicates that they can be assimilated into the regional society in the foreseeable future. Psychological and social mechanisms prevent the process of assimilation from developing in a positive
[28] manner. But before we deal with these mechanisms, we must say something more about these communities, analyzing them in the next chapter in terms of their socio-cultural variations. This will complete our idea of the conditions of existence of the present-day aldea Terêna.

/99/ VI. Socio-cultural Variations among Terêna Communities

121 The present chapter will be devoted to an analysis of
[28] socio-cultural variations among Terêna communities, in an attempt to understand the behavior, expectations, and claims of their components. In a concrete manner, we want to know what the pattern of conduct (157) of the present-day Terêna

157. We use conduct as a concept intermediary between "society" and "individual" and operating "in that strategic area where individual behavior becomes social conduct." (Nadel, 1957:20.)

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thinks of himself and of the "Catholics." Now the "Catholic," while he does not deny that a large number of his coreligionists drink a lot, believes that they work much harder than the "Believers," since the latter "are always at meetings of worship and just ask for alms and do not take life seriously." It seems that the basic difference between them is that most of the "Believers" know how to read and write--because they are encouraged to do so in order to be able to study the Bible, whereas the "Catholics" have no such incentive. This difference is apparent in the religious intervention itself: the Protestant missionaries are much more concerned with literacy than the Redemptorist padres.

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128 Much could be said on the religious behavior of the Terêna and on the syncretism revealed by their present body of beliefs. Nevertheless, it is not advisable for us to enlarge upon this, since the data we possess on the aldeas in this respect are very unequal, not permitting a comparative analysis. The disparity between the material obtained in Cachoeirinha--to mention the community selected for a study in depth and that will be the subject of a special work--in comparison with the data recorded in the other aldeas, would make any such endeavor a futile one.

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184 Moreira-Passarinho, (170) as communities practically divided
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[665]
● [128]

170. For analytic purposes, we are considering Passarinho and Moreira as making up a single community, since for all practical purposes they occupy a single reservation (cf. Chapter V).

into two different politico-religious groups; and c) União, Aldeinha, and Francisco Horta, as "Protestant" communities in view of the fact that the totality (or near totality) of their members have already adopted the "new creed," or else that it is in the process of being adopted, (171) without having on

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[648]

171. Such communities are also characterized by the fact that they present a standard of living considerably higher than that of the other communities. Nevertheless, nothing permits us to set up a causal correlation between "Protestantism" and economic development. Other variables deserve consideration, such as the Terêna-Kaiwá competition in Francisco Horta, or the União group's need for self-sufficiency, in view of the total lack of interest on the part of the S. P. I. for the fate of that small and independent community. On the other hand, we found in the

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369 the fact that its members are almost as closely connected to the city of Aquidauana as those who live there. The division we have made follows a methodological criterion whereby the Aldeinha community could be studied, as it actually was, in the chapter devoted to the aldeas, while yet underscoring its peculiar character.

369 619 do not, on this account, fail to continue Terêna, i.e., to remain faithful to their ethnic origin and, to some extent, to * 177 their local group. The loss of their ethnic identification, 369 along with their dissociation from the local group, begins in the generations following those of the emigrant Indians and obeys certain mechanisms. Assimilation seems to become possible only in special cases, out of a conjunction of factors such as the length of stay in the urban area, with its reflexes in later generations, the resulting interethnic marriages and cross-breeding, but above all, the greater or lesser family disorganization, with its decisive influence on the adjustment of the first and second generations in the urban-national structure. It should be noted that we are speaking of the [561] [619] assimilation of the generations following that of the Terêna who emigrated from their aldeas, and not of the emigrant who continues (i) to identify with his aldea of origin or his local group, (ii) to maintain land plots there, and (iii) to return there at the time of secular festivities or of magico-religious rituals reminiscent of the old Oheokoti. The barriers that obliterated the roads of assimilation of these emigrant Terêna will be examined in the final chapter of this work.

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/2/ occurs in accord with the continuum referred to above." "This means that a person cannot change from a pattern of segregated identification to one of assimilation without, first, becoming marginal and, then, desegregated. Meanwhile, the change can occur in either direction of the continuum. To change from desegregation to marginal and to segregation, [128] is common." (197) Although we are not adopting this scheme

197. Idem:35. "Ethnic identification refers to a person's use of racial, national or religious terms to identify himself, and thereby to relate himself to others." (Idem:31.) /Cited in English./

in its totality--for many of the results of its application are open to question--, it is a useful tool for the aims we have in mind, since, wrought from the analysis of situations involving minorities (ethnic, religious, and national), it is more refined and it strengthens our criterion for measuring assimilation by the pattern of ethnic identification. (198)

198. We defined assimilation, at the beginning of this chapter, as the process whereby one ethnic group is incorporated into another, losing its cultural peculiarity and its ethnic identification. See also footnote 172.

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*177 369 [571] [829] [464] them, in a general way, nostalgic for the "good times" of life in the aldeas. But for various reasons they remain in the city, raise their children there, or build up their families there. On the other hand, the aldea Terêna, although integrated in the regional economic structure--since they are active in the labor market--, remain more resistant to culture change and more attached to their ethnic origins /etnia/. Segregated in independent aldeas or on reservations, they remain in communities with high "esprit de corps," which make their assimilation unlikely. As we can see, social mobility, combined with /127/ acculturation, makes it possible, under certain circumstances, for the assimilation process to be carried to its ultimate consequences, or, in other words, to be completed.

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/129/ VIII. The Mechanisms of Assimilation

121 128 In the examination in which we are engaged, with respect to the assimilation process, pointing out two of its most explicative dimensions--acculturation and mobility--, we indicated certain psycho-social mechanisms that operate within it and that seemed basic to us. Our purpose now is to carry forward the analysis, endeavoring to discern the content itself of these mechanisms through a survey of the socio-cultural factors that stimulate and favor assimilation, as well as those that make it difficult or impede it. The former we shall call convergent and the latter divergent.

Convergent Factors

*177 369 [181] 1. The attraction exercised by the city on the Terêna population, as a whole, leads us to regard it as one of the most important factors in the assimilation process, especially when urban life creates prospects of higher remuneration, better recreation, and better education for their children.

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*177 461 369 [511] standard of living far superior to the best in the aldea, when they do not return to /145/ it, keep lamenting the fact that they are not doing agricultural work. This is a significant point, for it shows the vigor with which the culture imprints in the individual certain patterns which he gives up only with [167] great difficulty, and under unusual circumstances. Agricultural work is so deeply rooted in the behavior of the ordinary Terêna, that this has hindered his "definitive" settlement in the city. This attachment to farm work may be regarded as a second factor, of an economic or productive order, which, hindering the permanent settlement of the Indian in the cities, obliterates 184 one of the roads to assimilation: that of urbanization. Of *177 course, this is not true of the detribalized Terêna--who work 461 and live on the fazendas--since on the one hand they do not 162 need documents, and on the other hand they continue to perform agricultural work; the mechanisms that operate in such a context are of another order, and, probably, even, more [128] effective in the process of assimilation. The lack of detailed information regarding this "fazenda" population that would permit us to infer with the same degree of probability the nature of the "assimilating" mechanisms, as we did in relation to the aldea Terêna and the urbanized Terêna, leads us merely to indicate that the Indians in that ("fazenda") category, more than those in the other categories (aldea and urbanized) are farther along the road to assimilation, either because of their detribalized condition or because they remain in rural contexts, whose "cultural distance" in relation to aldea life is much less than that between the latter and urban life.

*177 648 175 3. The Serviço de Proteção aos Índios will be dealt with in this paragraph as a divergent factor in the assimilation process. As we already mentioned in various parts of this work, it was thanks to the protective action of the S. P. I. that the Terêna population (to deal with it alone) managed to survive the impact of Brazilian society, represented historically by its pastoral side. The creation of the native reservations created

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*177 182 571 off of the smallest inclusive group, the mechanism of marginalization (already active) begins to operate with great efficacy, making it improbable that the individual would move (in terms of Glaser's "continuum") to a "segregating" condition, often with his return to the community of origin; on the contrary, either he remains "marginal" or he evolves to a "desegregating" condition (in which most of the individuals born and raised in the cities or on the fazendas seem to be included); from this to an "assimilated" /condition/--which marks the final stage of the process--the distance is less, although, as we have seen, it is hard to verify empirically. (211) /151/ It should be made

211. "The pure assimilated person is an ideal-typical conception formed by extrapolating our continuum to its extreme, but rarely encountered empirically, except with respect to the most diffuse ethnic identities (e.g. "Nordic"), although the American Creed may be interpreted as implying that an assimilated pattern is ideal" (Glaser, 1958:34). /Cited in English./ As for the composition of the "continuum," see notes 172 and 196.

*177 128 It should be made clear, however, that it is not always possible to distinguish every moment of a real processus, although one may have an idea of its most significant stages. For this reason, we did not believe at any time that we were describing the assimilation phenomenon with the same precision with which the social organization of a tribe or the communication system of a complex

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*177 society might be described. Thus, it will not be idle to recall
●128 here the words of Talcott Parsons when he warns that even if one does not know the laws that govern a process, it is always possible to "describe it" in terms of its initial and final moments--and possibly to make inferences about its intermediary stages--until one reaches empirical generalizations about it. (212) This was the procedure we followed, aided by

> 212. "Frequently, however, the laws governing a process are incompletely known, or even not at all. Then it may still be possible to describe the process in terms of the initial and the final states and possibly intermediate stages or go a step further to state empirical generalizations about it. --A scientist studying the interdependences of variables generally isolates the particular process or class of then and treats it as a system" (Talcott Parsons 1952:201). /Cited in English./

[12] a minute examination of the data gathered in the field. We believe that through the analysis of the socio-cultural factors that operated in a convergent or divergent manner in the assimilation process, we succeeded in indicating the bases on which the psycho-social mechanisms operate.

*177 178 Conclusions

I. The Terêna, as the last Guaná subgroup to enter into continuous and systematic contact with Brazilian society,

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*177 178 369 the aldeas of their origin, (i) identifying themselves with them, (ii) keeping "lots" in them, and (iii) returning to them for secular activites or magico-religious rituals. The assimilation of this urbanized contingent tends to occur in the generations that follow that of the Terêna emigrant, and in accordance with certain conditions, the most important being: family disorganization. Whether in relation to this urbanized contingent, or in relation to the merely detribalized one--mentioned in the previous paragraph--the assimilation mechanisms are the same, their content obviously varying.

*177 178 128 IV. Although the analysis in depth to which we subjected only those Terêna classified as aldea /Indians/ and as urbanized /Indians/, was sufficient to give us an idea of the assimilation process, the exclusion /153/ of the detribalized Terêna, that is, those living on fazendas, imposes on this work a serious limitation which we attempted to circumvent through the use, perhaps the abuse, of a very poor set of data, often obtained by means of indirect methods. Nevertheless, the viability of this procedure, defensible from a methodological standpoint, permitted us to deal with the Terêna as a whole, to classify them into objective sociological categories, and to proffer generalizations about them. The manipulation of the concepts of acculturation and social mobility helped us to foresee two basic aspects or conditions of the assimilation process. Finally, the detailed examination of this process, through an examination of the psycho-social mechanisms emerging from it--carried out with the aid of a particular theoretical scheme (Glaser)--led us to understand the dynamic aspects of ethnic identification and their importance to the survival of the Terêna, as groups.

*177 178 V. The final conclusion reached is that the Terêna population, in spite of being integrated into the regional economic structure, nothing indicates that in the near future it will come to be assimilated by the Brazilian society or by its socio-cultural segments. (213) Perhaps this will not even

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

MARRIAGE AND TERENA TRIBAL SOLIDARITY:

An Essay in Structural Analysis

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Sumario

El autor de este artículo se limita a estudiar la sociedad de los Terena, indígenas que viven en algo más de 10 aldeas del sur del Mato Grosso, en Brasil. El número de ellos es en la actualidad de unos 5000. El grupo, de la rama Arawak, habitó antiguamente el Chaco Paraguayo. Es así que en este trabajo, como se ha dicho, se estudia la sociedad Terena desde que estuvo en el Chaco, todas sus supervivencias, y los cambios resultantes de su presente localización en una zona fronteriza que podríamos llamar "frontera de civilizaciones". Asimismo, se trata de descubrir las matrices o elementos formales inherentes de su sistema social. Para cumplir este propósito, el autor trata de construir lo que podría llamarse un modelo abstracto de la estructura social de los Terena basado en datos empíricos, recogidos directamente en el campo, o extraídos de la bibliografía.

Introduction

The Terena Indians live in ten or more villages in southern Mato Grosso, between 20° and 22° south latitude and 54° and 58° west Longitude.[1] They number about 5000 individuals. Originally inhabiting the Paraguaian Chaco, these Arawak people have maintained continuous contact with Brazilian civilization for more than a century and a half. Even though they might be described today as being integrated into the socio-economic structure of the regio,[2] it is not accurate to speak of them as being assimilated into neo-Brazilian society.[3]

[1] This paper is a result of field work done under the auspices of the *Indian Protective Service* and the *Division of Anthropology* of the *National Museum* of Brazil. The proposed plan of the field work was published in the *Revista de Antropologia*, São Paulo, Vol. 5, Nº 2, 1957. This article was written originally in Portuguese and was translated into English by Dale W. Kietzman, of "Summers Institute of Linguistics", and reviewed by the author.

[2] We are using the term *integrated* in the sense proposed by Darcy Ribeiro (1957 : 13) when he uses this classification for those "groups which, having experienced all of the pressures referred to (epidemics, massacres, social disorganization—RCO) and having succeeded in surviving, are found in the 20th century as a distinct entity in the midst of the national population, into whose economic life they have been incorporated as a labor reserve or as producers of certain specialized articles for local commerce."

[3] In a study recently published by the National Museum (*The Process of*